THE

CRISIS.

NUMBER XXXVII. *To be continued Weekly.*

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Curſt be the Man! What do I ſay, as tho',
The Wretch was not already ſo?
But curſt on let him be, who thinks it brave—
Or great his Country to enſlave.——

COWLEY.

To the PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

THE CRISIS is at length arrived when Truths are branded with the opprobrious Name of TREASON, and conſtitutional Reſiſtance to the unjuſt and bloody Commands of a *pious* King, and an arbitrary and abandoned Miniſtry, is called REBELLION—When Men are deemed Rebels who have bravely and honeſtly refuſed to plunge their Swords into the Breaſts of their loyal Fellow-ſubjects—and have had Reſolution to oppoſe the oppreſſive Meaſures of an infernal Gang of Parricides.

When Petitions and Remonſtrances avail not—When the firſt City in the World is repulſed, and treated with Contempt by Hirelings and TRAYTORS; when they are denied Acceſs to the Ears of a deluded and weak Sovereign; whilſt the once virtuous Throne is ſurrounded by German Beggars, and Scotch Rebels.—When our Trade and Manufactories are at a Stand; when our Commerce is ruined, our Liberties and Properties invaded, and the induſtrious Tradeſman ſtarving in our Streets.

At ſuch a CRISIS an Appeal lies only to the PEOPLE; they, and they only, are proper to be addreſſed.—The Right of a King exiſts no longer than he acts as a King.—With his Honour falls his Power, and with his Juſtice his Prerogative. We owe him no Obedience as Subjects and Children, when he throws by,

by the Parent and uſurps the Tyrant.—When a King breaks his Coronation Oath, his Subjects are abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance.

Reſiſtance to ſuch a one (notwithſtanding PROCLAMATIONS, fabricated by a Lord Chief Juſtice) is not Rebellion; but juſtifiable by the Laws of God and England—It is a Duty we owe to God, Ourſelves, and our Poſterity.

Rouſe, then, my Countrymen, from your Lethargy; let not the Sycophant and Syren Voice of an abandoned Miniſtry lull you aſleep, whilſt they forge Fetters, nay rivet them, on the expiring Remains of Liberty.—Revenge your own, and the Wrongs of injured America. Preſerve, uncontaminated, thoſe Rights and Privileges which coſt your virtuous and brave Anceſtors ſuch Seas of Blood, and hand down to your Children, in its original Luſtre, the glorious Bleſſing of Engliſh Liberty.

Drag from behind the Throne, the Traytors who dared to adviſe thoſe deſtructive Meaſures now purſuing in America. In deſpite of Royalty itſelf ſeize them, and bring them to immediate and condign Puniſhment. Let not the Coronet, or Robe of Crimſon, intimidate you; they deſerve Reſpect no longer than the Wearer proves himſelf worthy of them.—Pull off the one and expoſe the Weakneſs of the Head: Draw back the other, and diſplay the Treachery and Wickedneſs of the Heart.

Preſent yourſelves to his Majeſty, not as Petitioners, introduced by Lord Hertford, or ſome other ſervile Courtiers, but as ENGLISHMEN; as Men who know their Rights, and are reſolved to defend them.—Let a deluded Sovereign ſee there are ſtill ſome Men, who however ungrateful to his Ears) have a Spirit left to tell him his Faults; who, unawed by a falſe glare of Royalty, are reſolved to tell their Wrongs and ſeek Redreſs.

Tell him Treaſon lurks within his Palace: within thoſe Walls he will find more Traytors than in America; paint her Wrongs, and preſent her bleeding Sons expiring by the Hands of infatuated and mercenary Soldiers; Repreſent, if poſſible, the Diſtreſſes of her Inhabitants. The loving Wife mourning with her orphan Children, over the dead Body of their Father.—Parents bewailing the Loſs of an only Son, who was ſent by Heaven as a Bleſſing in their declining Years. The Scene grows too affecting; it is too much for human Nature, and Humanity recoils at the Recital.

With a manly Fortitude and a Spirit becoming Britons, impeach thoſe curſed Minions, who adviſed theſe wicked and fatal Meaſures, and who now enjoy the Smiles of Royalty, and baſk in the Sun-ſhine of Court Favour.

Bring to his View America, as a ruined and depopulated Nation.—Let him behold in Recital, the Diſtreſſes occaſioned

by the late bloody and inhuman Acts of Parliament.—Tell him the fatal Effects occaſioned by his refuſing the Petition of the City of London, and his heedleſsly ſigning the Bill for reſtraining the American Fiſhery; only to pleaſe an abandoned Miniſtry, who adviſe the Deſtruction of Millions by FAMINE and the SWORD, and the Ruin of Kingdoms, that they may ſhare in the Spoil. Nor will they ever want Wretches to carry their Meaſures into Execution, whilſt they can bribe them with the Money of the PEOPLE; ſuch Aſſaſſins as Gage, Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe, will always do any dirty Work Lord Bute, Lord Mansfield, or Lord North ſhall order them, when they are well paid.

Paint to his Majeſty the Father, who, before the paſſing that cruel Bill, earned an induſtrious and honeſt Livelihood by the Fiſhery; now ſurrounded by a Wife and Children craving for that Bread his Majeſty and a corrupt Parliament has robbed them of.—He muſt, if he has one Spark of Humanity left; acknowledge, that the Americans draw not the Sword without Provocation. If his Soul is not moved with Pity, he is unworthy the Name of a Man; much leſs (the Title he once declared he gloried in) a BRITON; and it is an Inſult on Religion to call him pious or merciful, Epithets which his hireling and penſioned Writers frequently beſtow on him.

His Majeſty, out of his great Mercy and Piety, leſt an innocent Perſon ſhould ſuffer, can pardon even hired Ruffians, the Violators of the Right of Election, who were clearly convicted by an honeſt and impartial Jury.—And will the ſame pious Sovereign, who could ſave the Lives of deteſted Murderers, perſevere in the Deſtruction of the innocent, brave, and loyal Americans.

Can he whoſe tender Conſcience would not permit a Malefactor to be executed; leſt he ſhould prove innocent (though there was no reaſon to believe him ſo, unleſs his being hired by Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, and murdering Subjects with a Promiſe of Pardon, can be conſtrued into Innocence). Can ſuch a Prince conſent, I ſay, (or rather will the People of England ſuffer him) to puniſh Thouſands, for the Fault of a miſguided Rabble. Even Women and Children, nay, even Children unborn, have already been deſtroyed in the general Slaughter.—Bluſh, O Prince, at the Cruelties committed, with your Conſent, by your Minions and Miniſters, and let your Reign no longer be marked in Characters of BLOOD.

My Blood boils at the very Thought! with what Abhorrence and Grief will ſucceeding Generations read (and Read they muſt and will, for Truths are not like a judicial Record, to be erazed by a MANSFIELD; and what is engraving in the Hearts of *Americans*, will be handed down to Poſterity with every cruel Circumſtance) and in the black Annals of our Time, learn that this and more, was acted under, and by the Command of GEORGE the THIRD.

Is Slavery become leſs Hateful under a Prince of the Houſe of Brunſwick, than it was during the Reign of a Stuart; or are we leſs Virtuous and fond of Liberty, than our glorious Forefathers; who brought to the Block, the Tyrant CHARLES the FIRST? are we not the Deſcendants of thoſe Men, who brought about the laſt happy and glorious Revolution? I call upon you NOW, my brave Countrymen, in the Name of thoſe Anceſtors, to DEFEND and RESIST, even till you Periſh, any TYRANT who ſhall offer to trample upon the Laws which he is bound, and was ſolemnly ſworn to preſerve.

Proclaim, O my Countrymen, in the Ears of Majeſty (which have long been Strangers to Truth) "Theſe are thy Doings, miſguided Prince, thy Laws, like thoſe of DRACO, are written not with INK, but in BLOOD. Repent ere it is too late, and hearken to the Advice of your faithful Subjects and real Friends, not to an abandoned Miniſtry, who are intereſted to SEDUCE you, leſt by attending to Truths, you ſhould find out their TREASONS. Diſmiſs the Traitors from your Confidence, and give them up to juſtice.—Be perſuaded to follow the Inclinations of your People, and fulfill the ſolemn and ſacred Oath you took at your Coronation.—It ſtill is, though it will not be ſo long in your Power to reconcile yourſelf to America, by an immediate Redreſs of their Grievances you may gain their Affections for ever; but ſhould you ſtill perſevere in oppreſſive, cruel, and bloody Meaſures; the Time perhaps, is not far diſtant, (though Heaven retard the Hour) when the Sword of Liberty which is now drawn in America, will be unſheathed in England.

At that dreadful Period, a deluded King will call in vain for Aſſiſtance from Lord Mans field, Bute, or their Inſtrument North and his Gang.—The whole infernal Crew, conſcious of their Crimes, will hide themſelves, if poſſible from the Vengeance of a juſtly enraged Nation; put an End to their deteſted Lives by SUICIDE; or be brought to the SCAFFOLD to the great Joy and Happineſs of every true Friend to his King and Country in England and America.

BRUTUS.

Inſtructions from the FREEHOLDERS of the COUNTY of Middleſex, to the Right Honourable JOHN WILKES and JOHN GLYNN, Eſquires, KNIGHTS of the SHIRE for the COUNTY of MIDDLESEX.

"WE, the Freeholders of the County of Middleſex, ſummoned here by Public Adverti ſement of the Sheriff of this "County, acknowledge our Approbation and grateful Senſe of "your Conduct as our Repreſentatives, during the laſt Seſſion "of Parliament; and though we have no Reaſon to doubt your "ſteady Perſeverance in the true Intereſts of your Country, yet "we think it our indiſpenſable Duty to acquaint you with our

" this great Empire, and the Happineſs, Glory, and Proſperity,
" of the whole People.

" We behold, with all the Horror and Grief natural to a
" Free People, the fatal Stab given to our excellent Conſtitution,
" by a Majority of the laſt VENAL Parliament, whereby the
" moſt ſacred and unalineable Right of the Freeholders of this
" County, the Right of Election, was in the moſt impious
" Manner wreſted from the Electors, and aſſumed by the
" Elected, who placed a Perſon as our Repreſentative in Par-
" liament, contrary to the Senſe and Will of the County, ex-
" preſſed by a great Majority of legal Votes, thereby eſtabliſh-
" ing a PRECEDENT of the moſt dangerous Tendency to the
" Rights of all the Electors of Great Britain; which Injury has
" been again confirmed, by the Malice of our inveterate Ene-
" mies, in the preſent Parliament (choſen by Surprize under a
" National Deluſion) ſuffering that Vote to appear in their
" Journals, a ſtanding Record of the INJUSTICE, VENALITY,
" and CORRUPTION of their Predeceſſors.

" We are called upon to redouble our Attention and Zeal for
" the Defence and Preſervation of ALL our conſtitutional
" Rights, from ſeeing the iron Hand of Oppreſſion extended to
" our Fellow Subjects on the other Side of the Atlantic;
" POPERY, that Bane of civil and religious Liberty, eſtabliſhed
" in an Extent of Country infinitely larger than all our Poſſeſſions
" in Europe, thereby arming, as it were, many of our Fellow
" Subjects with the CRUCIFIX in one Hand, and a DAGGER
" in the other, againſt our Proteſtant Brethren; a POPISH
" BISHOP appointed, and the greateſt Comfort and En-
" couragement given to the Clergy of that Church, while the
" Paſtors of our own pure and excellent Faith, are ſuffered to
" remain without Support or Proviſion, but what ROMISH
" Prieſts and ROMISH Counſels ſhall deign to afford them;
" other cruel and oppreſſive Acts paſſed againſt our Fellow
" Subjects in AMERICA, wholly repugnant to the ancient,
" juſt, and generous Proceedings of Britiſh Councils and Britiſh
" Aſſemblies, deſtructive of that Glory of the ENGLISH Law,
" the Trial by Jury, and many other undoubted Rights and
" Privileges of Engliſh Subjects; in Violation of Charters and
" royal Covenants of the moſt ſolemn Nature, which Acts and
" Oppreſſions, under the Influence of the preſent Miniſters,
" have been productive of a moſt impolitic, unnatural, cruel,
" and deſtructive CIVIL WAR, againſt our ſuffering and much
" injured Fellow Subjects in America.

" We lament as a commerical People, the inevitable Injuries
" that muſt be ſuſtained by the Loſs of a moſt valuable Branch of
" our Commerce, the decay of Trade and Manufactures, and
" conſequent Diſtreſs of the induſtrious Poor.

" To remedy all theſe Evils, the melancholy Experience of
" paſt Times evincing, how inſufficient the removal of a Min-
" ſtry, while their Maxims and Views are entailed upon the

" ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe them, but endeavour to procure us ſuch " conſtitutional Security, by ſhortening the Duration of Parlia- " ments, and enacting ſuch other Laws as may prevent the " Nation from ſuffering by the like Errors and Iniquities for the " future.

" And we inſtruct you to exert yourſelves in procuring that " Vote of the late Houſe of Commons to be reſcinded, which in " the moſt injurious and unconſtitutional Manner, deprived the " Freeholders of this County, of their undoubted Right of " Election.

" We alſo inſtruct you, to forward an enquiry into the Ex- " penditure of the Public Treaſure, ſo peculiarly neceſſary at " this Time, and in a Nation burdened with Taxes, and " oppreſſed with Debts; that you will not ſuffer the People to " be impoſed on by the flimſy Artifices of a Miniſter, pretend- " ing to leſſen, while he is, in reality, encreaſing the Public " Burthen.

" Should any additional Land-Tax, or new Impoſts be pro- " poſed, in the enſuing Seſſion, we expect that you will not " aſſent to them without a previous Redreſs of Grievances; and " that you will ſtrenuouſly oppoſe all Votes of Credit, or taking " any Foreign Troops into the Pay of Great Britain unleſs another " Attempt ſhould be made by TORIES and JACOBITES, " againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, Family, or Government.

" The ſtate of the Navy, the great Bulwark, Safety, and " Protection of the Commerce of this Nation demands, and we " hope, will engage your ſerious Attention; and that you will " enquire by what fatal Miſmanagement and corrupt Influence, " after ſuch immenſe Sums have been voted during a Peace- " eſtabliſhment, that it is in its preſent deplorable Condition.

" We particularly inſtruct you to exert yourſelves in prevent- " ing the further effuſion of the BLOOD of our innocent Fellow " Subjects in America, and to put a ſpeedy end to the preſent " unnatural and ruinous CIVIL WAR.

" We alſo deſire you to uſe your unwearied Endeavours to " aſſiſt and ſupport the Repreſentatives of the City of London, " for obtaining a repeal of every obnoxious and unconſtitutional " Act, and in bringing to the Juſtice of their Country, the Ad iſers " of ſuch nefarious Meaſures, as have been adopted during the " laſt Fourteen Years, tending to SUBVERT the Conſtitution of " this Country, and which we are convinced will very ſoon effect " the Ruin and Deſtruction of the Britiſh Empire."

No ſooner were they Read, than Mr. *Juſtice Pell* with great dignity aroſe, and declaring, " That as he could not ſeperate " the STRAW from the WHEAT, he ſhould object to every " one of the Inſtructions."

The Motion for inſtructing the Memembers was carried, like every other Motion, in behalf of Public Liberty, by a prodigious Majority. It was then moved, " That a Letter ſhould be " addreſſed from the Freeholders of Middleſex to thoſe of Great " Britain." Objected to by Mr. *Juſtice Pell*, on the Principle " That it was ſounding the Trump of Sedition throughout the " Camp of Iſrael." Mr. Staples, the Lighterman, objected to the Motion on a Ground not quite ſo Scriptural; he ſaid, " It " would be making faſt the Chains of Tyranny." Mr. Rutſon ecchoed the Denunciation of a PROTEST. The Letter, however, was read, and the Motion " That it be addreſſed to the " Freeholders of Great-Britain" paſſed by an immenſe Majo- " rity. The Letter is verbatim as follows:

A *Letter from the FREEHOLDERS of MIDDLESEX, to the FREEHOLDERS of GREAT BRITAIN.*

" The perilous Situation of public Affairs, and the Calamities " which threaten the whole Empire, are the Reaſons, and, we " hope, will be a ſufficient Apology for our addreſſing you.

" The Vote of the late Houſe of Commons, by which a Re- " preſentative was forced upon us, to the immediate Violation " of our Rights, and the eventual Injury of thoſe of all the " Electors in the Kingdom, remains yet on Record. It re- " mains as a Precedent againſt the moſt ſacred and fundamental " Franchiſe of the People, to authoriſe the ſame Violence, by " Miniſters, as ARBITRARY and Repreſentatives as COR- " RUPT.

" We truſt, Gentlemen, that you will not ceaſe to co-operate " with us, till that dangerous and ſhameful Record be con- " demned and done away, in the moſt ſolemn and effectual " Manner.

" The preſent State of America is ſuch, as ought to give the " deepeſt Alarm and Concern to every Man, who regards the " Rights of human Nature, the Liberties of Engliſhmen, and " the Happineſs and Safety of the whole Empire. The arbi- " trary and inhuman Conduct of the preſent Adminiſtration, " has driven our moſt affectionate American Fellow-Subjects " into Deſpair and Reſiſtance. Seven Years Supplication for a " Redreſs of their Grievances, has been anſwered by AN " ARMY to enforce them. Their Petition laſt Year to the " King, implored—Peace, Liberty, and Safety. In Return " they received Acts of the moſt inhuman Reſtraints; and " open Hoſtilities, in the Deſolation of their Country, the De- " ſtruction of their People, and the Conflagration of their " Towns. They have again beſought his Majeſty," in a late humble Petition, " to ſtop the further Effuſion of Blood; and " to direct ſome Mode by which he would be pleaſed to receive " the united Proofs of their Devotion, as moſt dutiful Subjects, " and moſt affectionate Coloniſts." They declare their moſt

" arden

" ardent Deſire that the former Harmony between them and
" the Parent State, may be eſtabliſhed upon the moſt laſting
" Foundation. They expreſsly declare they do not " requeſt
" ſuch a Reconciliation as may be, in any Manner inconſiſtent
" with the DIGNITY or WELFARE of this Country." We
" cannot conceive what can be offered, fairer, or fuller, on their
" Part.

" But the Miniſtry, it ſeems, have adviſed his Majeſty to
" give this Petition no Anſwer; and thereby to deprive the Pe-
" titioners of every Hope of Kredreſs and Reconciliation. They
" are farther making the moſt open and extenſive Preparations
" for War. Even Roman Catholics are allured and incited to
" take up Arms againſt their Proteſtant Fellow-ſubjects. Thus
" we ſee theſe moſt pernicious Meaſures, proſecuted by the
" worſt and moſt dangerous Means.

" The immediate Injury of ſuch a War to our Commerce
" and Manufactures,—the Conſequence of that to the Produce
" of the Land—the additional Taxes neceſſary for ſuch diſtant
" and expenſive Operations, muſt ſink this unhappy Country,
" already over-burthened with the enormity of her Debt, into
" unavoidable Ruin. Upon the LAND muſt the whole Ex-
" pence ultimately fall. Upon the LANDHOLDERS, then,
" it is eſpecially incumbent to uſe their utmoſt Influence in
" ſtopping the Courſe of this unnatural and fatal War.

" The Americans have repeatedly appealed to the Juſtice
" and Humanity of their Fellow-ſubjects in Great-Britain. We
" hope ſuch an Appeal will never be made in vain. We la-
" ment the Fate of thoſe brave Britiſh Soldiers who have been
" ſacrificed in ſo inglorious and hateful a Conteſt. We are
" perſuaded our Fellow-ſubjects in America, are contending in
" the Cauſe of Liberty; and are cruelly oppreſſed. We will
" never, willingly, aid in urging the Oppreſſion, or trampling
" upon the Rights of any Part of the Dominions. We cannot
" ſee any probable Conſequence from the Proſecution of this
" miniſterial War, but Miſery, Shame, and Ruin to the whole
" Empire.

" Upon theſe Principles we have inſtructed our Repreſen-
" tatives in Parliament; upon theſe Principles, Gentlemen, we
" wiſh for your Co-operation, in eſtabliſhing Liberty, Peace,
" and Harmony through all his Majeſty's Dominions."

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